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The A. P. A. Movement.

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The A. P. A. Movement.

A Sketch

By Humphrey J. Desmond.

Author of "A History of the Know-Nothing Party."

Washington:
The New Century Press.
1912.

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BY H. J. DESMOND.

PREFACE.

IN the early days of the A. P. A., it was frequently remarked that the newspapers showed a peculiar reluctance to mentioning the movement, even when it was already becoming the burden of conversation in conventions, commercial organizations, and social circles. There was a disposition to allow it all the privacy it desired, not through sympathy with its secrecy, but through dislike of its disturbing influence. After it went into decline, this disposition was again apparent. The public preferred to forget it, having no pride in its occurrence.

To some extent, this is the spirit also of the American historian. The Know-Nothing movement has a notice in such histories as those of Rhodes, all too brief, considering the stir it made at the time. Woodrow Wilson's five volume History of the American People (published in 1902), makes no mention whatever of the A. P. A.

Still, these movements, though not subjects of national pride, have, in their narration, instructive lessons.

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And, of course, they cannot profitably be ignored. The present sketch is offered upon that consideration.

Written several years ago, for a periodical, it has since been somewhat revised. The first proofs sheets were sent to the founder and president of the A. P. A., with a request that any inaccuracies be pointed out. Mr. Bowers' reply is subjoined:

CLINTON, Ia., May 16, 1902.

Hon. H. J. Desmond, Dear Sir: After a close scrutiny of the manuscript submitted to my inspection, and to report upon the correctness of the "facts," as quoted by you in the history of the A. P. A., you may be correct in your conclusions as to the facts as stated, from your standpoint, but as I have heretofore stated, I am not in a position to give your facts as set out a positive sanction, for the reason I have not the Records at hand to convince me to the extent of a certainty—therefore can but say you make a very good case, nicely and smoothly portrayed.

With kind regards, I am

Yours, etc.,

H. F. BOWERS.

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The A. P. A. Movement.

I.

UNDERGROUND WORK.

ON the night of March 13, 1887, there was formed at Clinton, in the state of Iowa, the first council of what was afterwards widely known (by its initials), as the A. P. A.*

The founder of the American Protective Association was Henry F. Bowers, a lawyer of Clinton, a Marylander by birth, a man then about sixty years of age, who doubtless remembered the American party, which had flourished when he was still a young man.

Societies of this character, held together by a common anti-Catholic feeling, and organized for some more or

*Richard Wheatley, D.D., in Harper's Weekly, Oct. 27, 1894.

less temporary purpose of town or city politics, have come and gone as detached and purely local occurrences in all parts of the country, since 1870. It is probable that the first members of council number one of the A. P. A. at Clinton, never expected that their venture would get beyond the borders of their native state. Apparently, there were no special reasons why an anti-Catholic feeling should become epidemic in the last decade of the nineteenth century in the American republic. It is not easy to understand why the Clinton society did not share the fate of so many similar societies, which, after winning some local political object, or losing the election, vanished wholly in the shadows from which they first emerged.

The Clinton A. P. A., however, slowly propagated itself—eastward and westward, through the north Mississippi valley. W. H. J. Traynor, afterwards elected supreme president of the A. P. A., tells us that the membership during the first years (up to 1893), never exceeded 70,000. Early in the year 1893, however, it had entered twenty states, and then public atten-

tion, and especially the attention of the Catholic population, was thoroughly aroused to the existence of what was termed "the new Know-Nothingism."

The most interesting aspect of the movement, the course and methods of its early growth, the conditions and provocations, if any, which gave it such a widespread and numerous following, are precisely the aspects which are most hidden and most difficult to determine.

We have these as constant factors in the anti-Catholic situation:

(1) The hereditary Protestant antagonism and suspicion of the Catholic Church and Catholic citizenship—fed systematically, if by the less intellecual, yet by the more vigorous Protestant pulpit; and re-inforced by certain elements of immigration, more particularly the Scandinavian and the so-called Anglo-Canadians.

The early day (1844-56) Know-Nothingism was due to jealousy of the growing political strength of the Catholic immigrant. Later day Know-Nothingism (A. P. Aism) in the west, was perhaps due as well to envy of the growing social and industrial strength

of Catholic Americans.

In the second generation American Catholics began to attain higher industrial positions and better occupations. All through the west, they were taking their place in the professional and business world. They were among the doctors and the lawyers, the editors and the teachers of the community. Sometimes they were the leading merchants as well as the leading politicians of their locality. They officered the trade unions equally with those of other creeds; and in all the great corporations,—railway and manufacturing—they were found working forward with the rest of their fellow-citizens and with not the slightest sense of inferiority.

Envious sectarians, often new-comers or foreigners, believing themselves more to the manner born, coveted what the Catholics possessed; and would conspire to relegate them to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water, their proper place, forsooth, "in this Protestant land."

(2) The prejudice, frequently engendered by the conduct of Irish-American politicians, who evince the usual

greed of cliques and rings; and the odium of whose record is justly, or unjustly, laid at the door of their co-religionists.

(3) The Catholic attitude on the school question, as understood and misunderstood—more especially the project of a division of school funds and appropriations from the public treasury to Catholic charitable institutions.

(4) The occasional Catholic society parade, or demonstration—including helmeted Polish and German knights, bearing drawn swords; harmless imitations, in their accoutrements, of the Templars and Pythians, but calculated to alarm bigotry rather than to impress public opinion by their "show of strength."

We speak of these as constant factors in the anti-Catholic situation. They existed in 1885, and they exist now —before the epoch of A. P. Aism and after it. We are to seek the special causes which, in 1892-4, gave the anti-Catholic feeling its sweep as a tangible and organized force.

And these incidental circumstances may be mentioned, all or some of which,

may have had a bearing:

(1) In the year 1892, there was a marked loosening of party ties throughout the United States, evidenced by the presidential election in November, which proved the most signal defeat that the Republican party had ever experienced; and the significance of this defeat was political unrest, rather than a growing popular adhesion to Democratic principles. The subsequent utter imbecility of the Democratic congress in 1893-4, in its tariff and financial legislation, illustrated this.

(2) Added to this political unrest, came the industrial unrest, caused by the hard times which began in the summer of 1893.

(3) There were occurrences in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States during the same years which helped the alarm of bigotry. The special Catholic celebrations throughout the country (in October, 1892) of the Columbus anniversary, including huge parades of school children and Catholic societies; the coming, in the same year, of Msgr. Satolli, the Papal delegate; and the prominence of parochial school questions in the public press,—

the Faribault system in Minnesota, the Edwards law in Illinois and the Bennett law in Wisconsin. From Boston "a committee of one hundred" flooded the press and the legislatures from 1888 to 1892 with "anti-Romanist" documents.

Subjoined is a letter from the founder of the A. P. A., Henry F. Bowers, which bears upon this subject:

SUPREME COUNCIL,
AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.
Clinton, March 1, 1899.

Hon. H. J. Desmond,

Dear Sir:—Yours of Feb. 27th, duly received this morning and carefully read by me. You do me great honor, sir, to submit the questions that seem so simple, yet so profound.

The first question, "In what territory did the A. P. A. establish its organization during the years 1887-88?"

Answer: Iowa, Illinois and Nebraska.

Q. 2: Were there any local causes, such as the Bennett law agitation in Wisconsin, or the school agitation in Boston, which promoted its growth?

A.: The Bennett law, as I under-

stand it, was subsequent to 1888, and I am not positive as to the date of its passage, but remember the Bennett law agitation in Wisconsin at about the time of the organization in that state. I don't think, however, that the Bennett law had anything to do with the matter. The agitation in Boston did not affect us very much. It sealed what we had more firmly, and was simply an illustration of the facts that we had proclaimed.

O. 3: Was there any connection, in your opinion, with its growth and the Faribault school question in which Archbishop Ireland was interested?

A.: I wish to state that I know that the Faribault school agitation, in which Ireland was so active, had a great deal to do with the building up of the order during that fight, from the fact that it was only giving to the public the evidence of the correctness of our declaration so far as the public schools were concerned, and the declarations of Bishop Hennessy as to the public schools of the country and American institutions generally. That stirred up the elements in this state

and Nebraska particularly, by reason of the fight between the priests and Bishop Bonacum, of Nebraska, in which Archbishop Hennessy, then bishop, took active part with Bishop Bonacum, and also in which Archbishop Ireland gave assistance against the priests of Nebraska, with whom we were greatly in sympathy.

Q. 4: In your opinion, did the coming of Msgr. Satolli to this country affect its growth?

A.: Very materially sir, very materially, to that extent that in 1896 the secretary reports in the neighborhood of 2,000,000 and something over 500,000. We looked upon Satolli as a representative of the Propaganda at Rome to direct and influence legislation in this country, more especially his settling down in the city of Washington, and several moves which were made, which I cannot just now call to mind, which gave rise to an opinion at least that he was interfering with the public institutions of this country.

Q. 5: Was its growth promoted by any strikes or clash between the employees of railway companies on relig-

ious question?

A.: No sir, the growth was not promoted by any strikes or clash between the railway employees, nor was there any visible difference of religious opinions discussed between the employees, as they worked in harmony until Archbishop Ireland and a committee visited certain railroad boards of directors of Chicago and demanded the discharge of Protestants, and that Roman Catholics be substituted. I have no personal knowledge of this further than the reports coming to me, and also through the press at the time, I think.

Q. 6: Can you state approximately to what extent it had grown in the years 1899-90-91?

A.: I cannot, because the records containing the facts were destroyed by fire.

I believe this answers the questions so far as I can at present. If there is anything that I can do and that is consistent, I will be glad to answer further.

With kindest regards, I am,

Yours, etc.,

H. F. BOWERS.

Two other special factors are, however, deserving of more extended notice as helping us to better understand why the A. P. A. spread and why thousands of men crowded into its councils.

II.

PANIC-DRIVEN.

WRITING in The Century Magazine for March, 1894, Rev. Washington Gladden, tells us that the A. P. A. movement began operations in each locality, where it spread, by "the furtive distribution" of certain documents calculated to engender fear and distrust of the Catholics.

Of these documents there were two—one purporting to be "instructions to Catholics", apparently bearing the signatures of eight prelates of the Catholic church; and the other, the famous Papal bull or encyclical calling for the massacre of the Protestants "on or about the feast of St. Ignatius in the year of our Lord, 1893."

The "instructions to Catholics" expressed alarm at the rapid growth of intelligence and education, and included an alleged compend of the canon law of the Catholic church, with the usual advice against "keeping faith with heretics." Perhaps half of the A. P. A. membership in 1893, believed the document genuine. Those who knew it to be a forgery defended it on the ground that if it was not edited by the Catholic hierarchy, it nevertheless, came close to being actual Catholic teachings.

The famous Papal encyclical was first published in The Patriotic American, a Detroit weekly organ of the A. P. A. on April 8, 1893. One paragraph from this spurious document, to which the name of Leo XIII. was appended, ran as follows:

"We likewise declare that all subjects of every rank and condition in the United States, and every individual who has taken any oath of loyalty to the United States in any way whatever, may be absolved from said oath, as from all other duty, fidelity, or obedience on or about the fifth of September, 1893, when the Catholic congress shall con-

vene at Chicago, Illinois, as we shall exonerate them from all engagements, and on or about the feast of Ignatius Loyola, in the year of our Lord 1893, it will be the duty of the faithful to exterminate all heretics found within the jurisdiction of the United States of America."

Every A. P. A. paper in the country published this bull as a genuine document and it was even inserted at advertising rates in some of the daily papers. Here also the authors of the fabrication seem to have understood the extent of the credulity that they could count upon among certain elements of the people. Elbert Hubbard, afterwards of the Roycroft fraternity, published an article in The Arena of June 1894, in which he says:

"A year ago I was visiting an old friend in Illinois, and very naturally the talk was of the great Fair. Was he going? Not he—he dared not leave his house a single day; did I not know that the Catholics had been ordered by the Pope to burn the barns and houses of all heretics? It sounded like a joke, but I saw the gray eyes of this old man flash and I knew he was terribly in earn-

est. With trembling hands he showed me the Pope's encyclical, printed in a newspaper which had a deep border of awful black. * * * I was taken to the two clergymen in the village, a Presbyterian and a Methodist; both were full of fear and hate toward the Catholics, with a little left over for each other. They were sure that the order to kill and burn had gone forth.

"And so in many towns and villages as I journeyed I found this quaking fear. In many places men were arming themselves with Winchester rifles; many preachers never spoke in public without fanning the flames.* * *"

The Protestant ministers of Columbus, Ohio, were moved to issue a public statement intended to quiet the alarm. They said:

"The undersigned have learned through various sources, of a state of anxiety, amounting almost to a panic, in many of the communities of this region, over an apprehended uprising of the Roman Catholics to ravage the land. The following extracts from a letter written by a reputable physician living near the center of Ohio, will give some idea of the state of feeling exist-

ing in many places:

"'We have been and are still, having an excitement in our usually quiet town, in regard to the Catholic question. There is not a Catholic in the entire township; but a large number of our people are intensely stirred up, some almost prostrated with fear, afraid that the Catholics are about making a wholesale attack upon Protestants, killing and plundering and destroying our schools and churches. Of course it obtains the strongest foothold among the ignorant and unthinking, yet it seems to cause great uneasiness and fear among many of the more intelligent. Copies of the Columbus Record have been distributed here, with its alleged letter of Pope Leo, of 1891, and with the other statements, with which, of course, you are acquainted. . . . In what way can this feeling be allayed? Will you kindly aid me? Is not this alleged letter of Pope Leo's which is continually paraded in The Columbus Record, a bare-faced forgery? Is it true that every teacher in the Columbus schools was a Catholic, a year ago, until the A. P. A. took it in hand? In your opinion are the Catholics arming and

contemplating a war with Protesttants?'

"Thus appealed to, we should be false to every impulse of justice and manliness if we did not promptly and unequivocally respond. We are not in sympathy with Roman Catholicism, as a system. Doctrinally and ecclesiastically, we are Protestants in our deepest convictions; it is because we are Protestants that we are ashamed and humiliated by the kind of warfare described in this letter. In reply to its question, and to many similar inquiries, we wish therefore explicitly to say:

"1. The alleged letter to the Pope, to which reference is made, which calls upon the faithful to rise and exterminate the Protestants, and which has been kept standing in many newspapers, and scattered broadcast through the community by means of leaflets and handbills, is a forgery.

"2. The document entitled 'Instructions to Catholics,' also widely published and disseminated, is another stupid forgery, etc., etc."

The feast of Ignatius Loyola occurred on the 31st day of July, 1893. Evi-

dently the faithful either neglected their duty or else they were unable to find any heretics "within the jurisdiction of the United States."

But the scare did not end with the passing of the date set for the massacre. The Catholics "were still biding their time, waiting to find their Protestant neighbors off guard." After the Papal bull served its purpose as a document to inspire fear, it again came into the record as an evidence of Jesuit trickery. The American Citizen of Boston, one of the strongest of the A. P. A. weeklies, said early in 1894:

"A favorite scheme of the Jesuit, is to cry 'wolf' when there is no wolf, until the Protestants really believe there never will be a wolf; and then, when off their guard, the wolf comes. This is being illustrated in the matter of the bogus encyclical which was circulated by tens of thousands last year—the encyclical apparently signed by the Pope, calling for the massacre of Protestants, etc. The Citizen never admitted the thing to its columns—knowing it to be a fraud, and declaring our belief that it was written by the Jesuits to bring discredit on the A. P.

A. movement. . . .

"But many good people took stock in this bogus document; among them, we are sorry to say, *nearly every A. P. A. editor in this country.* . . .

"What was the result?—Thousands of unwise people really thought the Romanists would rise and massacre them the first of last September—as if the eight million Romanists in this country had the physical or moral courage to face the combined Protestants of the nation!"

Nevertheless, this fabricated bull was really responsible for a large share of the spread of A. P. Aism. Thousands of credulous people undoubtedly went into the ranks of the secret anti-Catholic society for protection against the menace of Rome's sanguinary onslaught.

During 1894, many amusing incidents of the scare came out in the papers. At Toledo, for instance, there was a verdict for $4,138 in favor of A. J. Rummel, a large dealer in fire arms, against one George H. Ostrander, as a result of a trial in one of the civil courts. The suit was for Winchester repeating rifles sold to Ostrander for

the use of members of Council No. 2 of the American Protective Association. The order was strong in Toledo; it claimed 7,000 voters on its rolls in that city. There were a number of witnesses examined, and the drift of the testimony was that just prior to Labor day September 1893, there was a belief current among members of the order that on that date there would be an uprising of Catholics to murder Protestants. The arms were purchased and delivered to the A. P. A. council, but not paid for at the time. The daily press of the country also related the story that Mayor Major of Toledo, had detachments of the Ohio National Guard on duty continuously for a week, about September 5, 1893, when the uprising of Catholics was expected.

"During night and day for seven days Ohio soldiers, fully uniformed and armed, stood in readiness at the Toledo armory for any outbreak that might occur. On Labor Day, portions of the three companies of militia, one company of cadets and one of artillery, which constitutes this city's military force, joined in the labor parade. But detachments from all five remained at the armory, guarding the ammunition and Gatling guns."

III.

WHY THE CROWD CAME.

IT was its temporary usefulness as a means of local office-getting and political power, that in reality, swelled the ranks of the A. P. A., and led, after the middle of the year 1893, to its rapid growth.

The old Know-Nothing movement began by throwing its strength to a set of candidates selected in secret conclave from names on the Democratic and Whig tickets. From this it proceeded to nominate candidates of its own. The A. P. A. took the more direct method of capturing the machinery of one of the existing parties. It went into the caucusses of that party and dictated the nominations by

strength of numbers.

Strongly as the political tide had set with the Democratic party in the latter part of 1892, it set even more strongly against it in the years 1893, '94 and '95. Hard times had come upon the country in the summer of 1893, and popular resentment seemed to hold the Democratic administration responsible. A nomination on the Republican ticket was in dozens of former doubtful, or Democratic localities, as good as an election. Ward and city politicians, understanding the usefulness of the A. P. A. council in carrying the caucusses, were inclined to pack the A. P. A. council first as a means of afterwards sweeping the primary, or caucus. The bigger local politicians were soon interested in the game of the small fry. In the scramble for local offices, American politics has never been remarkable for decency or principle. The end usually justifies the means The motto of the combatants is "anything to win." Doubtless, hundreds of new members joined the A. P. A. from October, 1893, to November, 1894, who cared little for its anti-Catholic program. They were after the loaves and

fishes of city and county office, and the control or possession of the local party machinery.

In the local elections of 1892 and 1893, Toledo, O., Keokuk, Ia., Peoria, Ill., Saginaw, Mich., and South Omaha, Neb., theretofore Democratic towns, changed their politics, and as a result of A. P. A. machinations became strongholds of the new movement; although, nominally, the elections were Republican victories. This set the pace in other localities.

Under the caption, "The New Republican Ally," The New York Sun of Sunday, Oct. 15, 1893, said, editorially:

"Our esteemed contemporary, The Sentinel of Indianapolis, Ind., a Democratic journal, gives without reluctance and with courage and conciseness, the true cause of the recent defeat of the Democrats in the Hoosier capital, which went for Mr. Cleveland in November by 467 majority:

"'It is useless to attempt to disguise the fact that the A. P. A. is strong in this city, and that its work was effective. There are not many Democrats in it, but comparatively few make a

Story of the frogs!

grave difference in close party fights The organization has claimed 9,000 votes in the city. We do not believe it has any such number, but if it has drawn 300 Democrats into its embrace, the change would be sufficient to wipe out our fair party majority. Unquestionably, the Democratic party in Indianapolis and in Indiana has this enemy to meet, and it may as well prepare for the struggle.'"

"Since its establishment," continues The Sun, "this organization, three-fourths of the members of which are Republicans, has exercised a remarkable influence in Michigan, Nebraska, Iowa and Illinois. In the municipal elections of this spring in Michigan and Illinois, the candidates covertly endorsed and secretly supported by the A P. A., triumphed unexpectedly in many cities heretofore stanchly Democratic."

The writer of this article, (the late Charles A. Dana no doubt,) concludes by making a prediction, which was verified:

"It would not be surprising if our Republican friends, whose meagre triumphs in recent western elections are, in almost every instance, directly at-

tributable to the support of their new found ally, should with many demonstrations of repugnance disavow A. P. A. support of their candidates hereabouts. It may be so. But unless all present indications are at fault, this organization will be heard from in Massachusetts, New Jersey and Pennsylvania contests of this year, and, it may be, that New York, too, will figure in the A. P. A. column. We shall see!"

The truer estimate of the situation, however, was, not that the Republican party succeeded by the aid of the A. P. A. (—That was merely a Democratic taunt); but that the A. P. A. came into office and power and notoriety by manipulating Republican caucusses at a time when the tide of politics had set strongly in favor of the Republican party.

A writer in The Century Magazine (May, 1896), recognized this truth:

"The political success of this conspiracy is due, of course, to the machine politicians. A secret organization, whose vote can be controlled almost absolutely, whose official head can promise to throw it bodily into either side

of the scale, does not need to have a very large membership in order that it may dictate nearly all the nominations of one or the other of the two parties. If twenty, or over ten per cent. of the voters of a community can be handled in this way, one of the parties will be sure to give their leaders nearly everything they ask for.

"Ambitious minor politicians will make haste to join the society, there will be candidates enough in its membership to fill all the offices, and for a time the party which secures its alliance is sure to elect its candidates. In this way, in many communities, the control of one or the other of the parties has passed almost entirely into the hands of the 'patriotic' order."

The zealots among the A. P. A. councils frequently threatened, during 1895 and 1896, to form a party of their own; but the shrewder and more mercenary elements knew that to depart from the Republican fold was to be stranded on the shoals of utter defeat. Patronage, and profit, and importance lay in following the initial policy of riding on the crest of the tidal wave.

The plan of capturing Republican

primaries and conventions was, therefore, the predominant activity of the A. P. A. during the years 1893-5. That policy both swelled the numbers and rewarded the zeal of the A. P. A. It was thus a profitable policy and it was persisted in. The old time leaders of the Republican machines were, in some localities, retired; in many places cast in subordinate roles, but, as a rule, they held substantial control by biding their time, cultivating a discreet silence on the new movement, as it should be judged in the light of American political ethics, and conciliating the adhesion of A. P. A. supporters by the use of patronage. The Democratic party helped, by its strong anti-Know-Nothing attitude, to drive the A. P. A. wholly into the Republican ranks, and so cleared itself of the difficulty. "The kite is labelled A. P. A.—the tail, G. O. P.," said The Cheyenne (Wyo.) Leader (Dem.). While Democratic public men (Govs. Peck of Wisconsin, Altgeld of Illinois, Senators Vilas, Hill, Vest and many others), denounced the new Know-Nothingism, and Democratic conventions passed resolutions against the A. P. A., Republican leaders

were for temporizing. At Kansas City, October 2, 1894, Governor McKinley of Ohio, (then the leading presidential possibility of his party), was addressing a large audience on the issues of the day, when some one asked: "What is the matter with the A. P. A.?" Mr. McKinley evaded the matter by rejoining: "The question with us is, What is the matter with the country?"* The chairman of the Republican state committee of Missouri, Mr. R. C. Kerens, a Catholic, sought to induce the New York leaders of his party to define their position; but the Republican state convention of New York, in the fall of 1894, avoided passing a resolution condemning the A. P. A. And The Chicago Times (Dem.), said that no Republican convention would dare to condemn the A. P. A., that the party was "not only affiliated to the A. P. A., but dominated by it." So, at least, matters appeared at the end of the year 1894.

*This, and other quotations in the same paragraph, are taken from C. C. Robinson's article entitled the "Revival of Know-Nothingism," in The American Journal of Politics. (V. 504, Nov., 1894).

IV.

SECRET PURPOSES AND OPEN PROFESSIONS.

THERE were numerous publications of the A. P. A. ritual and oaths. These were variously divulged—in some instances (as in the case of the expose by The St. Paul Globe), by the efforts of spies; in other instances, by the admissions of former members. We subjoin one of the A. P. A. oaths, printed in the petition of ex-Congressman H. M. Youmans, in his contest for the unseating of William S. Linton, which petition appears in full in The Congressional Record as referred, October 31, 1893, to the committee on elections of the House of Representatives. This is almost *verbatim* the same oath at-

tributed to the A. P. A. in The St. Paul Globe's exposures; and it agrees, substantially, with the versions printed in the newspapers of the time as from various sources, and authorities:

"OATH NO. FOUR.

"I do most solemnly promise and swear that I will always, to the utmost of my ability, labor, plead and wage a continuous warfare against ignorance and fanaticism; that I will use my utmost power to strike the shackles and chains of blind obedience to the Roman Catholic Church from the hampered and bound consciences of a priest-ridden and church-oppressed people; that I will never allow any one, a member of the Roman Catholic Church, to become a member of this order, I knowing him to be such; that I will use my influence to promote the interest of all Protestants everywhere in the world that I may be; that I will not employ a Roman Catholic in any capacity if I can procure the services of a Protestant.

"I furthermore promise and swear that I will not aid in building or maintaining, by my resources, any Roman Catholic church or institution of their

sect or creed whatsoever, but will do all in my power to retard and break down the power of the Pope, in this country or any other; that I will not enter into any controversy with a Roman Catholic upon the subject of this order, nor will I enter into any agreement with a Roman Catholic to strike or create a disturbance whereby the Catholic employees may undermine and substitute their Protestant co-workers; that in all grievances I will seek only Protestants and counsel with them to the exclusion of all Roman Catholics, and will not make known to them anything of any nature matured at such conferences.

"I furthermore promise and swear that I will not countenance the nomination, in any caucus or convention, of a Roman Catholic for any office in the gift of the American people, and that I will not vote for, or counsel others to vote for, any Roman Catholic, but will vote only for a Protestant, so far as may lie in my power. Should there be two Roman Catholics on opposite tickets, I will erase the name off the ticket I vote; that I will, at all times, endeavor to place the political posi-

tions of this government in the hands of Protestants, to the entire exclusion of the Roman Catholic Church, of the members thereof, and the mandate of the Pope. To all of which I do most solemnly promise and swear, so help me God. Amen, amen, amen."

A comparison of the ritual and obligations of the A. P. A. councils with those of the Know-Nothing lodges will show a general similarity. The older proscriptive organization, however, especially after the adoption of its Union degree, was undoubtedly possessed of a finer and more orderly ritual. The A. P. A. was at a disadvantage in this respect, in many localities, owing to the number of foreigners and members from the lower walks of life who flocked into its councils.

While the oaths and obligations of the order indicated one thing, there was also a public statement of principles:

In the published declaration of principles by the session of "the Supreme Council of the American Protective Association of the World," held at Des Moines, Ia., towards the middle of 1894, the first clause makes "loyalty to true

Americanism, which knows neither birthplace, race, creed nor party . . the first requisite for membership in the American Protective Association." The second disclaims political partisanship, and affirms that the order teaches its members "to be intensely active in the discharge of their political duties in or out of party lines, because it believes that all problems of confronting our people will be best solved by a conscientious discharge of the duties of citizenship by each individual." The third holds that support of any ecclesiastical power of non-American character, and which claims higher sovereignty than that of the United States, is irreconciliable with American citizenship. Therefore it is opposed to the trust of official functions in any political position to such subjects or supporters. The fourth upholds the constitutional guaranty of restricted to the individual, and not as permissive of claim by any un-American ecclesiastical power to "absolute control over the education of children growing up under the stars and stripes." The fifth considers "the non-religious liberty, and interprets it as

sectarian free public schools" as "tho bulwark of American institutions," and protests "against the employment of the subjects of any un-American ecclesiastical power as officers or teachers of our public schools'"*—a protest against the employment of Catholics, whatever their real merits or qualifica-

*In a widely quoted speech at Boston in 1893, Theodore Roosevelt thus alluded to this idea:

"Because we are unqualifiedly and without reservation against any system of denominational schools, maintained by the adherents of any creed with the help of state aid, therefore we as strenuously insist that the public schools shall be free from sectarian influences, and, above all, free from any attitude of hostility to the adherents of any particular creed; and we denounce as the worst foes of the public schools those who, under the pretence of friendship for them, stir up hostility toward them by seeking to discriminate in their name against those people who hold a given religious belief. Exactly as we welcome to them alike the children of Jew and Gentile, of Catholic and Protestant, so we insist that in their management no one creed shall have any special jurisdiction, but the professors of all creeds be treated alike, in order that every American citizen, without regard to what his own private religious belief may be, shall feel that he has an equal voice therein."

tions.

The sixth condemns "the support from the public treasury, by direct appropriation or by contract, of any sectarian school, reformatory or other institution not owned and controlled by public authority.''* The seventh holds that "exemption from taxation is equal to a grant of public funds," and therefore demands "that no real or personal property be exempt from taxation, the title of which is not vested in national or state governments." The eighth protests "against the enlistment in the United States army or navy, or the militia of any state, of any person not an actual citizen of the United States." This was cheerfully waived when, in 1898, war was declared against Spain.

The ninth demands "for the protec-

*In this connection it may be of interest to note that in The Independent of Jan. 10, 1894, are the answers of twenty-nine Catholic prelates in reply to a circular asking them whether they would countenance a movement for a division of the school fund. Archbishop Ireland said: "No thought, however remote, of a movement of that kind is entertained by them [the Catholics]." Archbishop Katzer wrote: "I have always been, and still am opposed to the

tion of our citizen laborers the prohibition of the importation of pauper labor, and the restriction of all immigration to persons who can show their ability and honest intention to become self-supporting American citizens." The tenth demands the "change of naturalization laws by a repeal of the act authorizing the naturalization of min-

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plan." Archbishop John J. Keane wrote: "No concerted action of the Church is proposed, and none is apt to be proposed in the future." Archbishop Bourgade wrote: "Under no circumstances would I do so unreservedly" [countenance a movement for division of the school fund]. Archbishop Janssen, of New Orleans, said: "It may be better and more prudent to bear a burden . . than to create a war of dissension and ill-feeling among the largest portion of our citizens." Bishop McQuaid, of Rochester, said: "An agitation with a view to a division of the state school fund would, at the present time, be injudicious and inopportune." Bishop Horstmann, of Cleveland, said: "To think at present of any division of the school fund in Ohio would be sheer folly." Opinions of a similar character were expressed by most of the remaining prelates. Of the whole number, only Bishop Durier favored agitating for a division of the school fund. The replies of Bishops Haid, Ludden, and Verdaguer, however, inclined that way.

ors without a previous declaration, and by providing that no aliens shall be naturalized or permitted to vote in any state in the union who cannot speak the language of the land, and who cannot prove seven years' continuous residence in this country from the date of his declaration of intention."

The eleventh protests "against the gross negligence and laxity with which the judiciary of our land administer the present naturalization laws, and against the practice of naturalizing aliens at the expense of committees or candidates, as the most prolific source of the present prostitution of American citizenship to the basest of uses." The twelfth demands "that all hospitals, asylums, reformatories, or other institutions in which people are under restraint be at all times subject to public inspection, whether they are maintained by the public, or private corporations, or individuals."

The oath above given, together with the foregoing schedule of political purposes very fairly exhibit the aims and purposes of the order.

Just as the Know-Nothings had a secret name (the Order of the Star Span-

gled Banner), so, it is alleged, the secret name of the A. P. A. membership was "Amoreans." The purpose of the secret name was not clear, unless it was to enable a member to deny that he was an A. P. A., having "in mental reservation" the thought that that was not the real name of the organization. At any rate, not a little casuistry of this kind was learned in the process of campaigns by the members of the order.

V.

PERSONNEL.

THE most striking difference between A. P. Aism and Know-Nothingism lay in the fact that the former invited and admitted to membership foreign-born persons. The A. P. A, originated in the west, where, in some states, the foreign-born voters actually exceed the native-born voters. It is quite certain that in southeastern Michigan the strongest element in the A. P. A. organization were Anglo-Canadians, many of them trained in the Oranges lodges of Ontario.

In Milwaukee, the Germans and the Norwegians, in 1894, undoubtedly made up a clear majority in the councils. In Minneapolis, the Scandinavians

were the predominating element. In Iowa, Indiana, Missouri and Ohio, perhaps the native American leaven was strongest, although the foreign element was everywhere considerable. As to the Nebraska A. P. A. we have the testimony of Rev. Mr. Williams, pastor of St. Barnabas' church, at Omaha, an Episcopalian minister, who said in his Parish Messenger about Eastertide, 1893:

"If the A. P. A. people were all, or the greater part of them, simon-pure Americans, sons of the Puritans, or of the Cavaliers, or of the Dutch of New Amsterdam, one might understand their anxiety for the permanence of American institutions, and the reason for their secret conclaves. But they are not. They are a very cosmopolitan lot of people. Their backbone, if not their brains, is made up of Englishmen, Canadians, Irish Orangemen, Scandinavians, Germans, etc., etc."

On the other hand, an A. P. A. paper in an article printed during the same year, informs us that "recent inquiry developed the fact that in the order there were nearly eleven hundred clergymen of various Protestant denomi-

nations; there are college presidents and professors, editors by scores, school teachers by hundreds; bankers, railroad magnates, merchants, manufacturers, professional men of every description; artists, mechanics, salesmen, soldiers and sailors. In some of the western cities every official, from mayor down, is a member of the order." [November, 1893.]

The truth, perhaps, lay between these conflicting statements. With a good deal of ignorant material there was fused into the A. P. A., a fairly common schooled element, recruited from all the average walks of life.

Rev. Washington Gladden, discussing in The Century Magazine (March, 1894), the attitude of the Protestant pulpit towards the A. P. A., said:

"The silence of the pulpit is explained by the fact that, in many instances, members of the church are members of the order, and the pastor is unwilling to alienate any of his supporters. There are few churches, I suppose, in the western cities, in which members of this order are not found."

That there were hundreds of ministers, scores of teachers and not a few

doctors and lawyers among the A. P. A., admits of no doubt. Doubtless, too, under pressure of solicitation and by vicarious initiation, men of good social and mercantile standing, were here and there enrolled in its membership, without having however, much, sympathy with its purposes. But the general character and stamp of its membership is denoted by the use made of the fictitious Papal bull and the success which the more knavish leaders had in this and many other particulars in duping the mass of their followers; and also by the manner in which the movement soon turned its chief energies into a scramble for petty political jobs.

The charge has been made, and not successfully contradicted, that the raft of local officials, tided into office in various sections of the west during 1893 and 1894, by the A. P. A., was conspicuous for more instances of incompetency, default and dishonesty than characterized the local politics of those sections at any time since the close of the civil war.

Among the men early and prominently identified with the A. P. A. may

be mentioned Henry F. Bowers of Clinton, Ia., its reputed father, a man of respectable character, free, personally, from much of the rabid intolerance of his following, and perhaps honestly involved in the movement from a sincere belief in its purposes. Mr. Bowers was the first supreme president of the order, and, after several years of other leaderships, the A. P. A again, in 1898, conferred upon him the melancholy duty of watching as chief mourner at the bier of the rancorous child, whose cradle he had rocked. Osceola B. Jackman of Boone, Ia., a smooth, travelling insurance agent, did much to build the organization up in the west; and he was recognized for his services by election as supreme secretary of state in the national A. P. A. council. W. H. J. Traynor of Detroit, was supreme president of the A. P. A. during its palmiest days (1894-6). Traynor was born at Brantford, Ontario, and is said to have found his first employment in Detroit as a solicitor for a Catholic paper. Subsequently he published The Patriotic American, a weekly organ of the Orange lodges, and from this station he

stepped into national prominence as the head of the A. P. A.

Charles T. Beatty of Saginaw, Mich., did yeoman service during 1892-3 in giving the order shape and direction in southeastern Michigan. He was afterwards the supreme secretary of the A. P. A. "Prof." Walter Sims of Bay City, Mich., came into prominence in 1893 as an A. P. A. lecturer; but afterwards lost his faith in the movement (together with his employment), and proceeded to attack it as bitterly as he had before advocated it. Rev. Adam Fawcett of Columbus, O., and ex-priest Rudolph of the same state, were active in establishing the A. P. A. in their vicinity. J. J. Gosper of Los Angeles, J. H. Fryar, of Nashville, Tenn., "Judge" Stevens and "Judge" Jackson (the latter excoriated by Editor Brann of The Iconoclast), J. C. Thompson of Omaha, editor of one of the earliest A. P. A. weeklies, J. W. Echols of Atlanta, Ga., supreme president of the order from 1896 to 1898, Rev. D. B. Cheney, president of the Wisconsin councils, Rev. Judson D. Fulton, a pronounced pulpit exponent of A. P. A. principles, were names prominent in the

leadership of the order from 1893 to 1898.

In public life there were few men of any official prominence who were members of the order. Undoubtedly, it initiated a number of mayors, sheriffs and local officials throughout the west; but with the exception of Governor William O. Bradley of Kentucky, and Congressman William S. Linton of Saginaw, Mich., no men of higher than local official dignity were generally counted as representing the order; although, as in the case of Senator Burroughs of Michigan, and Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire, and Congressman Hainer of Nebraska, there were some reflections. W. H. J. Traynor states that twenty members of the 54th congress, which held its first session beginning with December, 1895, were members of the A. P. A.* As in the case of all claims of this kind made by officials of the order to give it importance in the public mind, there may be some grain of truth in this, after due discount.

*North American Review, June, 1896.

VI.

INCIDENTS OF THE MOVEMENT.

SO far as the outside public was concerned, the A. P. A. gave the first sign of its life and purpose in the various communities where it was growing, by arranging for lectures by ex-priests and "escaped" nuns, or, in some instances, by so-called "patriotic" lectures.

Ex-priest Slattery was the occasion of a riot at Keokuk, Ia., in 1893, and ex-priest, or "Bishop" McNamara figured in a like affair soon afterwards at Kansas City. Both were former priests of the Catholic Church, Slattery having lost his standing by habitual drunkenness, and McNamara having left the Lazarist order in 1875, to

form an independent "Catholic" church in New York, of which he became bishop. Among McNamara's regular attendants was Ann O'Delia Dis Debar, referred to in the press for many years as "the spook priestess." She was then known as the Countess Landsfeldt. She posed as a victim of Rome and proposed to marry McNamara and form a troupe to go about the world delivering lectures in the interests of the anti-Papal league. Later Bishop McNamara was received into the Baptist church by the Rev. Justin D. Fulton of Brooklyn.

As a result of the Kansas City disturbance, "Bishop" McNamara was convicted and sentenced to a year's imprisonment.

Another ex-priest of a quieter temperament, however, was D. George P. Rudolph of Ohio. Father Houck, chancellor of the Cleveland diocese, in a card addressed to The Cleveland Leader, May 27, 1892, says that "Rudolph was suspended from the functions of the priesthood by Right Rev. Bishop Gilmore, June 19, 1881. Prof. Rudolph, according to his published statement, went through a marriage cere-

mony before a civil magistrate." The woman he married was his housekeeper.

A French-Canadian, Chiniquy, (ordained a priest in 1833, and finally suspended in 1856), was famous as an ex-priest in the years prior to 1890. He originated the canard that the assassination of Lincoln was due to a Catholic conspiracy.

A number of other "ex-priests" in A. P. A. days were men who had never been ordained, but who posed as former priests chiefly on the basis of a short attendance at Catholic institutions. Among these were Ruthven, Walsh, Koehler and Bluett.

There were also a number of ex-nuns, the most notorious of whom was Margaret Shepherd, whose police record was well known, and who, despite her "disclosures," never had been a member of a Catholic religious order.

Eventually, even the A. P. A. became itself nauseated over the "ex-priest" as a feature of its propaganda. "The average ex-priest is simply a leech sucking the life blood of the councils for his own enrichment," said President Jackman of the Iowa A. P. A.

The Iowa and Wisconsin A. P. A. voted to discontinue the services of the ex-priests. But the latter claimed that this action was a lapsing from the principles of the movement and a cowardly submission to Roman intimidation.

The A. P. A. movement began to develop a press early in 1893;and in 1894 seventy A. P. A. weeklies were in existence. Nearly all of these were publications of very limited circulation—few of them printing, except around election time, more than a thousand copies. They used "plate" matter, and kept standing several columns of reading defamatory of the Catholic Church, such as alleged Jesuit and Cardinal oaths, "canon law," and a list of unauthenticated "quotations" ascribed to Catholic sources.* What Ignatius Don-

*The Provincial of the Jesuits in Canada recently published an unequivocal denial of the "oath" in the Montreal Star. He wrote: "We vehemently repudiate as a barefaced forgery that absurd, filthy, and criminal oath, which no sane man could take or even believe in, and which, though a hundred times refuted and exploded, has made its way from the initial forger, Robert Ware, in 1680, down to his latest progeny lecturing in a Toronto church."

nelly said in the course of his discussion with "Prof." Sims, aptly applied to this matter:

"I want to say, my friends, that I do not believe in some of the authorities quoted by the professor (Sims). I doubt their authenticity. When he comes up here and admits that the A. P. A. organization sent out an encyclical of the Pope's that was bogus and published documents which were forgeries, he cast doubt on every document he may produce. False in one thing, false in all."*

Among the A. P. A. papers earliest in the field (1892-3) were The True American, St. Louis; The American Idea, Des Moines, Ia.; The American,

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An anti-Catholic paper, The American Citizen of Boston, (Feb. 17, 1912), said:

"Nearly twenty years ago, the Toronto Mail printed the so-called 'Jesuit Oath.' The paper was sued for slander. Court after court, as it was appealed, decided against The Mail, until the highest court of all in England was reached, and this, too, decided in the same way. It cost The Mail an immense amount of money to fight the case, and they could not prove that it was a genuine 'Jesuit Oath.'"

*Debate with Prof. Sims, reported in Milwaukee Sentinel, March, 1894.

Omaha; The Loyal American, Minneapolis; The Rocky Mountain American, Denver; The Northwestern American, Sioux City, Ia,; The Allied American, Cleveland, O.; The Patriotic American, Detroit, Mich., the latter also the official organ of "the Orange Grand Lodge of the United States."

In Boston the anti-Catholic element set up a daily paper called The Standard, which failed after some two years of publication. One by one, with the collapse of the movement, the A. P. A. press began to drop off after 1895. In 1900 only three of the papers of the movement were left, the principal being The American Citizen of Boston (with a circulation under 5,000), which, however, had existed before 1887.

One line of alarmist stories common in Know-Nothing days was widely revived in the earlier years of the A. P. A. This was the rumor of arms hidden under Catholic churches. For instance, at Toledo, Deputy Sheriff Stanberry of Lucas county, and Rev. W. S. Brackney, a minister in West Toledo, went to visit the St .Hedwig's Polish Catholic church, which he believed was filled with arms and ammunition.

He admitted he was deceived in so thinking.

The following Associated Press dispatch from Los Angeles, Cal., under date of Sept. 30, 1894, is interesting in this connection:

"J. K. Gosper, a local politician and an A. P. A. man, was invited to address the Unity club. In the course of his remarks he charged that under the Catholic cathedral in this city were 500 stand of arms. D. F. Donegan, a contractor, arose in the audience, and, displaying a $1,000 silver certificate, declared that the statement was a lie, and that he would give the money to the A. P. A. if it were true. Much excitement followed. The chairman said that Gosper had violated the courtesy of the club. Gosper then said that he had been told the arms were there."

At Peoria, Ill., at Saginaw, Mich., at Omaha, Neb., and a dozen other places, similar reports were industriously circulated.

The usual ante-election appeals of the A. P. A. are indicated by the following extracts from The Rocky Mountain American, (Oct. 1893):

"Vote early and vote only for Prot-

estants and in this way you will protect our free American institutions."

"Let all who love our great American republic and its free institutions, vote for Protestants".

"It is of the utmost importance to the cause of Protestantism that Protestant principles shall prevail at the polls in this election, and that straight Protestant candidates shall be elected."

Tickets containing the names of the candidates for the various offices, with their religious beliefs indicated, were circulated before election as a regular proceeding.

Very naturally, Catholic citizens made a most vigorous opposition to the A. P. A., and almost everywhere they had the best of the battle in the open forum. Their press was unremitting in its assault upon the new movement. Large public meetings and anti-A. P. A. lectures and pamphlets were among the means employed. Here and there counter associations were formed for purposes of defense; and in many places the council meetings of the A. P. A. were systematically watched and lists of the members procured and circulated. The Catholic agitation against

it had localized it by driving it wholly out of the Democratic party and advertising it as a thing hated and despised by all Catholics. It did threaten at one time to develop in the Democratic ranks. There were Democratic papers, 1891-3, in Minnesota and Michigan, leaning towards it.

The less defensible methods of breaking into A. P. A. councils and obtaining the records, and attempting to mob or interfere with ex-priest and anti-Catholic lecturers, were also episodes of the counter-movement in a few localities.

Perhaps the statements of "Prof." Walter Sims, made in April, 1895, during a course of lectures which he gave at Minneapolis, will give the reader a fair notion of the spirit of the times. In 1894 Sims was lecturing for the A. P. A. He says:

"In one particular place, in the city of Oshkosh (Wis.) I went to the hotel, having been sent for by the committee of the council there—one council, if I remember right. I arrived at the hotel —they told me where to go—and I stayed there all day and never saw an A. P. A.; never one of them knew me or came

near me. About seven o'clock the opera house began to fill up and I waited around there until eight o'clock. Then I said: What am I going to do; nobody here to go on and open the meeting. Presently, three men sneaked up the back way and came up to me and said: 'Come, let's go down this way and back into this alley here.' Said I, 'Why, who is going to introduce me?' 'I don't know; I don't want to be on the platform, you know; I must not be seen there, you know. It wouldn't do; nobody knows that I am an A. P. A.'"

Under the stress of public discussion, the secret movement was at a disadvantage, and time and again A. P. A. leaders confessed the desirability of discarding their secret methods and coming out in the open and casting aside the intolerant features of their movement under the solvent influence of public opinion.

In explaining the failure and sudden collapse of the American party in 1852-7, Prof. Johnston says in the American Encyclopedia of Politics: "The existence of a secret and oath-bound party was always an anachronism in an age and a country where free

political discussion is allowed."

This was recognized in more than one A. P. A. quarter, although another equally true remark by Josiah Quincey was not as cordially appreciated:

"The liberties of a people are never more certainly in the path of destruction than when they trust themselves to the guidance of secret societies Birds of the night are never birds of wisdom. One of them indeed received this name, but it was not from his *looks* and not from his moral and intellecual qualities. They are, for the most part, birds of prey. The fate of a republic is sealed when bats take the lead of the eagles."

VII.

CLIMAX AND ANTI-CLIMAX.

H. F. BOWERS, who was its first president, informs the present writer that he can give no facts concerning the spread of the A. P. A. during its earlier years, because the records of those years were burned. During 1893, the papers spoke of "the A. P. A. belt," that is, the region in which the movement proved a disturbing element. The territory comprised in eastern Michigan, northern Ohio, northern and central Illinois, the south half of Iowa and the north half of Missouri, extending west to the east half of Kansas and Nebraska, was termed the A. P. A. belt.

The order had also entered nearly a dozen other states, but the public were

not as yet aware of it.

Beginning at its home in Clinton, it extended to Keokuk, Missouri Valley, Council Bluffs, Lone Tree, Davenport, Boonsboro, Lake City, West Liberty, Boone, Brooklyn, Des Moines and many other Iowa points.

In 1891, it was strongly in evidence at Omaha, Neb., and at the city election that year it endorsed the Republican ticket and swept the town (heretofore usually Democratic), by large majorities. It was estimated that the A. P. A. vote in Omaha reached 4,000. The Democratic ticket was heavily handicapped by rumseller candidates, and this partly explains the result.

Local contention became so bitter as to injure business. "Neither settlers nor trade will come to a point when religious proscription exists."

The A. P. A. seems to have moved down the Missouri river from Omaha. In Missouri, Kansas City was its first conspicuous base. After the fall elections of 1892, a delegation representing the A. P. A. of Kansas City, came to ask Governor-elect Stone to blacklist all Catholics when making appointments. "Your association," replied

Govenor Stone, "is undemocratic and un-American, and I am opposed to it. I haven't a drop of Know-Nothing blood in my veins."

Bishop Spalding, the Catholic bishop of Peoria, gave this survey of the progress of the A. P. A. in Illinois up to 1893:

"In this diocese it shows a certain vigor—here in Peoria, in Rock Island, Bloomington, Danville, Streater, Ottawa, and possibly in other of the larger towns. In Peoria we know the names of the A. P. Aists, and the oaths they take have been published in a newspaper issued on St. Patrick's day, called The Irish-American. The A. P. Aists are mostly Republicans, only eight per cent. of them being Democrats here in Peoria. As the Whig party, when ruin threatened, sought to save itself by making an alliance with the Native American party, so the Republicans, here in Illinois at least, seem to have some sort of understanding with the A. P. Aists. Certain railroads, the Rock Island, for instance, seem to give them encouragement; and they do this, it is said, not from hatred of the Church, to which, being soulless, they

are indifferent, but from a desire to weaken and cripple the labor unions. From one of the more respectable A. P. Aists, I hear their great grievance is the presence of the apostolic delegate.'"*

The cities of Rockford and Freeport were speedily overrun by the A. P. A., but although an organ of the order was established in Chicago, it made no successful impress on the politics of that city.

The early activity of the A. P. A. in southeastern Michigan, led many persons to suppose that it was an offshoot of the Canadian Protestant Protective Association. The latter, however, seems to have been, in its origin, subsequent to the A. P. A. A. P. Aism had figured in many bitter political contests at Saginaw, especially during 1892.

Ex-Congressman Tarnsey, a Catholic, is quoted as saying early in 1893:

"There is not a merchant in this city [Saginaw] that has not felt the effects of the boycott for the last year. If he is not boycotted by one, he is by

*Catholic Citizen (Milwaukee) April 8, 1893.

the other. The Catholic is boycotted by the A. P. A., and the A. P. A. possibly lost some of the trade of his Catholic neighbor. I wouldn't be surprised. A. P. Aism has driven business away from your city. Empty stores and vacant residences, signs 'To Rent,' indicate the injury that the A. P. A. has done in a business sense to this entire community. Omaha and Saginaw are known to the world as two black spots upon the American continent where proscription exists, the proscription that precedes decay and ruin."

In Ohio, a broad band of territory, extending southward from Cleveland (the home of much nativistic Puritanism) to Cincinnati, witnessed many A. P. A. outcroppings during the latter part of 1892. At Toledo some successes were scored. Father Quigley's action in opposing the compulsory education law had much to do with this. A good deal of A. P. A. activity was also noticeable in Columbus and Cincinati.

During the presidential campaign of 1892, the A. P. A. showed itself very friendly to the candidacy of Benjamin Harrison, a friendship that was stimulated, so it seems, by liberal assistance

from the Republican campaign fund. For this, Clarkson, the Republican national committee man from Iowa, is said to have been chiefly responsible.

Up to the middle of 1893, it is probable that the strength of the A. P. A. in the United States did not exceed 100,000. It had, however, been organized in twenty states, according to W. H. J. Traynor; and the foundation laid for its subsequent rapid growth during the year 1894.

In the North American Review for June, 1896, its then president, Traynor, tells us that as a result of this growth, it had, by the end of 1894, entered every state and territory in the union, disturbing the political machinery of the Republican party more or less, in New York, Michigan, Ohio, Massachusetts, Missouri, Kentucky, and showing itself influential in Nebraska, Kassas, Minnesota, California, Tennessee, Washington and Oregon. The following cities are among the more important centers of population, which were generally regarded as under A. P. A. political dominance during all, or a portion of the period 1893-5: Omaha, Kansas City, Rockford, Ill., Toledo,

Duluth, Saginaw, Louisville; and to some extent, Detroit,* St. Louis and Denver.

In New York, its principal activity was at Buffalo and Rochester. Pennsylvania, where the so-called patriotic societies were always numerous, was also stirred by the new movement. In Massachusetts, according to the editor of The American Citizen of Boston, there were one hundred and seventy-four councils, with a membership estimated at 75,000. Connecticut and Rhode Island were also overrun, politically, by the new order, but it does not seem to have been an especially active factor in the other New England states. If we except Kentucky and Tennessee, the A. P. A. made but little impression in the south, although there were mild outcroppings in Georgia and Texas. The southern Democrat regarded it as a strictly Republican campaign adjunct.

President Traynor, in the North American Review (June, 1896), says

*"Indeed, Detroit has now hardly one Catholic appointed official, for wherever the authorities could displace a Catholic they have done so."—[American Journal of Politics, V. 504, Nov., 1894.

that twenty members of the Fifty-fourth Congress (1895-7) were members of the order, and one hundred "were elected by it and went back on it." This is probably one of the vain boasts which the leaders of the A. P. A. were disposed to make, in view of expected recognition at the hands of the Republican party. Traynor also, in this connection, refers to the A. P. A. as "so dominant before, and so insignificant after election." He claimed for it (June, 1896) a membership of 2,500,000, and threatened that should the old parties absolutely refuse to endorse its essential principles, "it is absolutely certain to put up an independent presidential ticket."

Speaking at Minneapolis, in April, 1895, Prof. Walter Sims, however, gives quite an opposite estimate of the A. P. A. membership:

"And now I am going to take you into something of the strength of this order. It is a great bugaboo. In the city of Chicago today there are not 1,000 paying members—members in good standing. The state of Michigan used to have 20,000 members. Today the state of Michigan has not 5,000

members. They never had 120,000, as they claimed. There is not a membership in the United States of 120,000, but they call it a million. Why, I thought we had a million members, until I began to look the thing up. I looked into the reports at the last meeting of the supreme council, of which I was a member, and I found we had no such number. We did not come up to 100,000 in the whole United States. Since that time the membership has not been growing, but it has been decreasing. At that time we could count a membership of 10,000 in Cook county and in the city of Chicago, while today there is not a membership of 1,000 there. It has decreased rather than increased. But why this boastfulness? In order to bear down upon politicians—that is the reason of boastfulness."

The truth may have lain somewhere between the calculating boastfulness of Traynor and the resentful disparagement of Sims. In their character for veracity, both were of equal repute. There is no reason to think that in its palmiest days the A. P. A. could count on its roster of membership over a

million voters. Numerically, it never equalled the old American party of 1854-7, which once had five United States senators and twenty-three congressmen wearing its livery.

We begin to hear much of a reaction in the movement, towards the end of 1894. Under the title of the Independent American Citizens party, the Chicago A. P. A., in the fall of 1894, nominated a full county ticket, which they claimed would receive 40,000 votes at the November election. The actual result at the election of Nov. 6, (as reported in the Chicago daily papers), was as follows:

Vote for County Judge, with 54 city and 7 county precincts missing:

Carter, Rep	126,313
Scales, Dem	86,857
Cox Peoples'	18,091
Mitchell, Prohibitionist	1,401
McMillan, Am. Cit. (A. P. A.)	917

Vote for County Superintendent of Schools:

Bright, Rep	123,149
Babcock, Dem	86,570
Beaseam, Peoples'	27,330
Wadhams, Prohibitionist	1,627
Sluaght, Am. Cit. (A. P. A.)	796

So out of a total vote of over 243,000, the A. P. A. polled about 1,000, and not 40,000 votes.

The New York Nation, commenting on the elections in April, 1895, at Bradford, Mass., and Bridgeport, Conn., saw in the result "a reaction against A. P. Aism."

In 1895, the A. P. A. was overthrown in the local elections at its earliest stronghold, Saginaw, and in 1896 its defeat here was further emphasized by the failure of Congressman Linton to secure a re-election. Bryanism wiped the Omaha and Nebraska field clean of A. P. Aism the same year, and in Toledo, "Golden Rule" Jones deprived it of its last local citadel in 1897 .

Against the shock of a vigorous attack, all along the line, it ceased to grow and began to decline. Free discussion was uncongenial to it. It fell a prey to unprincipled politicians. The mine that it worked was in all cases, local politics, and its aims rose and sank in petty political jobs. Such interest as had existed for the A. P. A. council was soon absorbed by the Republican club, and the meetings of the former gradually became scant and infrequent. Its chance for a larger scope was the presidential campaign of 1896,

but the small and ridiculous figure it cut in the campaign was an eye-opener even to the most stupid politicians.

VIII.

MIXES IN PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS.

DRESSED in a little brief authority, the leaders of the A. P. A. saw, what they thought a grand opportunity for personal importance and profit in the making of the candidate that the Republican party should nominate for President in 1896. They believed, or affected to believe, that they held the balance of power between the rival candidates; and that an expectant nation was breathlessly awaiting their decree in the matter. During the latter part of 1895, under the skillful management of Mark Hanna, the candidacy of Major McKinley had made great progress throughout the west, among the Republican rank and file. The A. P. A. was, apparently, as

friendly to him, as to Allison, Reed, Morton or Harrison, the other candidates most frequently mentioned for President on the Republican ticket. In forming a preference for presidential candidates, the rank and file of the A. P. A., thought and acted as Republicans without looking particularly to their leaders for advice. But, it appears, that advice was forthcoming. It is alleged that J. M. Clarkson, an adroit Republican politician from Iowa, acting with Matt. Quay of Pennsylvania, concluded that one proper measure in stemming the political tide setting in for McKinley was to manipulate the A. P. A. against him by "fixing" the leaders. Another rather plausible explanation—and slightly more creditable to the A. P. A. officials —was that they desired to send a large delegation into the Republican national convention pledged to Bradley and Linton (the two public men most prominently identified with the A. P. A.), not with the hope of nominating them, but as a means of holding a compact vote, which could be turned over to the successful candidate in consideration of pledges.

Whatever the precise character or motive of the plan, the A. P. A. leaders, at any rate, began early in 1896, to antagonize McKinley: Not alone "Judge" J. H. Stevens, president of the national advisory board, but President Traynor also, and the conspiracy reached out beyond the national board to the state presidents in Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Nebraska and Iowa.

Early in April, 1896, a circular was issued by the national executive board of the A. P. A. against McKinley, paragraphs of which are here subjoined:

"After carefully analyzing the evidences adduced, the committee found to be true the charges made against one of the candidates, viz.: Ex-Gov. McKinley, of discriminating in his appointments in favor of Romanists and against American Protestants because the latter were members of the American Protective association. * *

"Among the managers and active supporters, secret or public, of Major McKinley, are Richard Kerens, a Romanist, of Missouri, who has again and again in the public press denounced the A. P. A. organization in the most vin-

dictive terms, and sought, but in vain, to have the national Republican committee denounce the organization; also Stephen Elkins of West Virginia.

"Of the other candidates, viz.: William M. Allison of Iowa, Senator Quay of Pennsylvania, Senator Cullom of Illinois, Governor Bradley of Kentucky, Governor Morton of New York, Ex-President Harrison and Thomas B. Reed, the committee was satisfied with their Americanism and sympathy with the principles of the order."

Judge Stevens subsequently explained the genesis of this fulmination as follows:

"The national advisory board of the A. P. A. met in Washington, D. C., on March 26, to take action regarding its place and work in the coming presidential campaign. Information from the various states which had favorite sons was put before us by representative A. P. A's from those states, and from Ohio evidence was submitted to us by Adam Fawcett, who was twice honored with the supreme vice-presidency of the organization, showing that we could not support Mr. McKinley. * *

"The results of the investigation of

our sub-committee were of such a character that left us, friendly though we were to Mr. McKinley, no alternative but to repudiate him and fight him to the end."

The pronouncement against McKinley was followed by many concurring interviews, declarations and circulars from A. P. A. sources, and by the usual output of alarming and damaging stories so characteristic of the A. P. A. propaganda. It was necessary for Mark Hanna to deny that his candidate was a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, and Major McKinley thought it proper to write that he was not connected with the Young Men's Institute —a Catholic fraternal society.

Among those present at an anti-McKinley conference at Cincinnati, in April, were Supreme President W. J. Traynor, Supreme Secretary C. G. Beatty, Supreme Treasurer M. L. Ryan, National Executive Committeeman Thompson and Judge J. H. Stevens of the national advisory committee and chairman of the propaganda and campaign committee. The latter issued another circular to correct some "misstatements in the press," the substance

of which was:

"The hostility of the order to McKinley is not against the man but against him for his antipathy to the order, shown in his appointments while governor. The order has made every effort consistent with manhood to reach McKinley without success."

President Traynor was widely reported in an interview as saying:

"A review of his [McKinley's] political career brings to light many incidents showing that he has deliberately catered to the Catholic vote for no other reason than because he thought it was a vote that could be influenced in his behalf by special favors. It was generally understood that, while governor, McKinley was unduly under the influence of Bishop Watterson of the Catholic diocese of Columbus. A leading citizen of Toledo showed me a letter a few days ago, received in answer to one written to McKinley, charging McKinley with allowing under his administration the use of public funds in buying Catholic paraphernalia for the use of priests in the prisons, other churches furnishing their own supplies. McKinley made an equivocal denial of

this, if I am not mistaken, throwing it on others. While governor he appointed more Roman Catholics to office than any other Republican governor Ohio has had."

A. D. Hubbard, president of the A. P. A. in Kansas, declared: "Hanna is a Romanist, and I know it, and so does every other A. P. A. I can say positively, that unless McKinley declares himself soon, the A. P. A. will fight him to a finish."

The Indiana state A. P. A. annual convention was held in Muncie in April. After a stormy session, which lasted all day, the association decided to oppose McKinley's candidacy because of his alleged inclination towards Catholicism.

The circular sent out by the advisory committee of the A. P. A. denouncing McKinley was read in all the A. P. A. councils of Illinois. Resolutions were adopted, in some places, denouncing McKinley. The state president, Johnson, came out flatly against McKinley.

Ellis Pierce of Des Moines, Ia., state secretary of the Iowa A. P. A., declared that the order was prepared to make a strong fight in the state against Mc-

Kinley for president under orders from the national officers of the order.

The national convention of the A. P. A. was called to assemble in Washington, D. C., on May 12, 1896, and the anti-McKinley propaganda was, in the meantime, pushed by the national officers with the vigor of desperation. Our extracts are from the daily papers of April, May and June, 1896, which (particularly those of the West), give the topic considerable attention. Space, of course, limits us to but a moiety of the better verified matter. Late in April, the executive board came out with yet another anti-McKinley circular, in which occurred these allegations:

"The Roman Catholic hierarchy, seeing no probability of electing one of its cowardly tools to the presidency on any ticket other than the Republican, has through its leaders and followers massed its strength and resources to the support of Major William McKinley. As an unanswerable evidence of this statement it is sufficient to say that Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul, the most Jesuitical and dangerous Papal leader in this country; Bishop Watterson of

Ohio, for years the intimate and confidential friend and advisor of Major McKinley, and the most influential factor in McKinley's administration as governor of Ohio; Tom Carter of Montana, Steve Elkins of West Virginia, whose daughter was married to a Papist by Archbishop Corrigan, and whose sympathies were publicly announced in the United States senate when he fought the passage of the Indian Appropriation bill as amended on motion of Congressman Linton in the house, and passed by that body; and every other prominent as well as obscure Papist claiming to be a Republican; last, but not least of one, Richard Kerens of Missouri, who in his private car a few months ago entertained as his guests Archbishops Satolli and Corrigan and other celebrities of the Roman Hierarchy, in a transcontinental trip to Arizona and return, his car decorated with the American colors, and the Papal colors above them, are each and all ardently advocating the nomination of McKinley and using every means at command to accomplish that end."

Meanwhile, the friends of Major McKinley were busy in counteracting

what they regarded as a trick of opposing candidates to injure the favorite. And the culminating evidences that the tide of popular favor was with McKinley, undoubtedly led the political elements of the A. P. A. to scramble for the loaded wagon. An A. P. A. committee visited McKinley in May and upon its report, the national officers thought it discreet to again place McKinley's name upon the list of eligibles, though at the end of the list. Some bitter feeling ensued at the convention, perhaps most tersely expressed by the following report published in the papers a few days after the convention adjourned:

"A condemnation meeting by some of the delegates of the A. P. A. claiming to represent twenty states, was held after the adjournment of the convention on Monday night and the following preamble and resolutions bearing on the McKinley matter were adopted:

"Whereas, Maj. McKinley did on May 14, 1896, to a committee of the National Advisory Board in the city of Canton, O., state that he heartily approved the principles of the A. P. A. and on the following day gave an interview to the press denying that he had

met such a committee, thus giving the lie to the report of the committee which was composed of honorable and truthful gentlemen; and

"Whereas, The members of the Supreme council have, during its session, been hounded and badgered by a large McKinley lobby composed of members and non-members of the order that has used the most disreputable blackmailing methods to discredit the advisory board and to turn the supreme council into a McKinley ratification meeting, and having signally failed to clear McKinley of the consequences of his pro-papal political record, today, after two-thirds of the delegates had started for home, attempted to take revenge by abolishing the National Advisory board and accomplished the same by a vote of 30 to 29.

"Resolved, That the delegates in condemnation meeting assembled, denounce the cowardly denial by McKinley of his endorsement of the principles of the order given him to our committee, and

"Resolved, That because of his record as reported by the National Advisory board, we herewith pledge ourselves, by our influence and efforts, to endeavor

to accomplish his defeat."

This of course indicated a split in the A. P. A. forces, which was further emphasized by the election of a complete new set of national officers:

President, J. W. Echols of Atlanta, Ga.; vice-president, Henry S. Williams of Boston; secretary of state, H. P. J. Swaine of California; chaplain, W. H. Gotwold af Washington, D. C.; secretary, W. J. Palmer of Butte, Mont.; treasurer, C. C. Campbell of Minneapolis, etc.

The present writer, sojourning for a few days in Washington, at the hotel which was made the headquarters of this gathering of the A .P. A., was interested in noticing the average character of the delegates present, which to his observation did not vary greatly, (except, perhaps in the inferiority of the leaders), from the usual American political convention, state or county.

IX.

1896 AND AFTER.

ABOUT the middle of June, 1896, the Republican national convention met at St. Louis to ratify, what was already a foregone conclusion,—the nomination of Maj. McKinley. All semblance of A. P. A. opposition to this candidate had died away, out of prudent regard to the popular drift in his favor; and yet, in view of their long advertised promise to play something like the role of Warwick in the presidential election of 1896, the leaders of the A. P. A. were on hand, eager for some stroke out of which they might make capital and reconcile themselves to the party. Their plan was to secure recognition in the platform for one or more of the principles of their order, prefer-

ably for that opposing appropriations to sectarian institutions. The Associated Press dispatches tell of the result in an interview with Col. Sellers, the A. P. A. representative who had the matter in charge. Col. Sellers is quoted as saying that he gave a copy of the platform of the "patriotic" societies to Mr. Foraker, and also to Senator Gear of Iowa. He was told by the latter that the paragraph declaring against the appropriation of money from the United States treasury for sectarian purposes would be incorporated, and that the committee had taken favorable action upon it. Later in the day, he was surprised to learn from a member of the committee that its action had been reconsidered, and that there would be nothing in the platform in that regard. The sudden change in the attitude of the committee was explained by a telegram of Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul.

The Associated Press dispatches also present, what purports to be Archbishop Ireland's telegram, as follows:

"St. Paul, Minn., June 17, 1896.—To Hon. Thomas H. Carter, national committeeman, St. Louis, Mo.: The

clause in the proposed platform opposing the use of public money for sectarian purposes and union of church and state is unnecessary and uncalled for. It is urged by the A. P. A. Its adoption will be taken as a concession to them; will awaken religious animosity in the country and do much harm. The Republican party should not lower itself to recognize, directly or indirectly, the A. P. A. I hope the clause, or anything like it, will not be adopted. JOHN IRELAND."

We can never be certain, in a historical sense, of all that may have gone on to sway the deliberations of a national convention, or its committees. Herein, history is at the mercy of rumor. In this instance, the shrewd politicians of the Republican party seemed to have recognized that the currency question was going to work a new alignment in party allegiances, and that the support of thousands of Catholics in New York and the east might come in the ensuing campaign to the Republican party. It was said that the decision to omit the plank asked for by the A. P. A., was arrived at through the influence of R. C. Kerens, Edward

Lauterbach, and several gentlemen "who are known to be Protestants, but who were anxious not to antagonize the Catholics," and that the committee on resolutions was almost unanimous in its final determination of the matter.

The A. P. A. leaders were, of course, disappointed and even indignant.

In an interview published in The St. Louis Republic, Col. Sellers was quoted as saying:

"I am going from here to the Democratic convention in Chicago, and I will present the same plank to the resolution committee of that body.* * I do not expect to receive any worse treatment at the hands of the Democratic convention than I received here. I will come here to the Populist and Silver party convention, July 22, and present the plank. If the result is the same, I believe it is the duty of the American people to prepare for the organization of an American party, pure and simple, based upon the original idea of our fathers. In my judgment, political death stares the Republican party in the face, and its ghost was plainly seen by more than one of the prominent gentlemen who were del-

gates to the convention. But what else can be expected? Every tradition of a patriotic character, based upon a genuine American policy, has been violated."

The other parties would have nothing to do with the envoys of the A. P. A.; and very little was heard of the order in the ensuing campaign.

Its threat to put up an independent ticket was seen to be a very ordinary piece of bluff, and in national politics, at least, it was discredited beyond the hope of rehabilitation. President-elect McKinley's appointment (March, 1897) of a Catholic (Judge McKenna, of California), in his first cabinet, probably best illustrates the subsequent estimate that the Republican leaders had of the importance of the A. P. A., or of the necessity of being regardful of its resentments; and although this act of the new administration, as well as the appointment of Bellamy Storer to an important diplomatic mission, and of Terrence V. Powderly as commissioner of immigration, drew forth bitter protests from the proscriptive leaders, there was not a ripple of antagonism in either house of congress or in any

of the great newspaper organs of the party.

It may have been that many Republican leaders rather enjoyed the discomfiture of the A. P. A., in view of the swaggering tone many of its followers had taken on in its more prosperous days. For not a few prominent Republicans like Senators Hoar and Hawley, Thomas B. Reed, Levi P. Morton and John Sherman had been made the targets of its bitter attack and inuendo. In fact, it seems probable that during the year 1895-6, the A. P. A. was considerably more of a vexation to the leaders of the Republican party than to the prelates of the Catholic Church.

The loss of prestige due to these several notable discomfitures in national politics, told on the membership of the A. P. A. It was deserted by thousands of those who had gone into it for politics, and had no use for it when it became merely a discredited faction in the party. Its councils failed to meet, its state organizations fell into desuetude, and although it preserved its national organization by elections up to 1900, its history may be said to nave

closed for all purposes of general interest. H. F. Bowers was re-elected its national president in 1898, an office which he held up to his death in 1911.

X.

NO RESULTS IN LEGISLATION.

ALTHOUGH the A. P. A. had a platform calling for not a few changes in the laws, and in the policies of government, it failed to establish any of its demands, or to bring into our history any new departure in statecraft.

Perhaps the largely foreign element in its membership disqualified it to insist very effectively upon further restrictions upon immigration—although the tide of immigration had changed (1894-99) from the prevailing Teutonic type to the Slavic and Italian type. Nor could the requirement of seven years' residence for naturalization, or familiarity with the English language as a condition of citizenship, be argued

with very good grace in hundreds of A. P. A. councils, made up of Scandinavians and Germans.

Upon two matters only did the A. P. A. leave a record, though a rather ineffective one, in Congress. It joined in the for-sometime-existing opposition to further grants of federal money to the Catholic Indian schools; and it sought to prevent the acceptance by Congress of the Marquette statue, presented by the state of Wisconsin to the nation, pursuant to a law of Congress.

In 1870 President Grant established what is known as the "Indian Peace Policy," outlined in his message to Congress on the 5th of December, 1870, in the following words: "Indian agencies being civil offices, I determined to give all the agencies to such religious denominations as had heretofore established missionaries among the Indians and perhaps to some other denominations who would undertake the work on the same terms—i. e., as missionary work." Under this policy, the government, in its work of caring for the Indians, called to its aid the several religious denominations of the country. Circulars were sent to the representa-

tives of all the religious denominations, requesting them to report to the government regarding their willingness to participate in the work.

Several religious denominations took up the work and received their respective shares of public funds. This arrangement continued up to the year 1877, at which time what was known as "The Catholic Indian bureau," at Washington, offered to provide proper buildings, furniture, etc., and furnish board, lodging, tuition and clothing to the pupils, if the government would allow a fixed annual per capita compensation. Thereupon contracts on that basis were entered into from year to year, between the commissioner of Indian affairs and the Catholic bureau, the compensation for the pupils educated being $100 to $150 per capita, annually, for children in boarding schools, and $30 per capita for pupils in day schools. Like contracts were made with the representatives of other denominations for the continuance of their schools. This was the so-called "contract" system.

It was not long before it was perceived that the Catholics were getting,

under this system, a great share of the public funds; and other creeds, particularly the Methodists, turned against the system chiefly on that account.

In 1884, Hon. Henry M. Teller, secretary of the interior under President Arthur, expressed a determination to do away with the contract system. But the establishment of government schools, in place of the Catholic and Protestant schools, was not a purpose to be accomplished in a few years, or under one administration, although Indian Commissioner Morgan, under the administration of President Harrison, prosecuted the endeavor with great energy and with a zeal against the Catholic Indian schools, that gave the administration, in Catholic opinion, a decidedly hostile appearance. Still, the Catholic institutions received under the established system (and despite a desire to rather disfavor them), large sums of public money. In the Congressional Record, Wednesday, July 18, 1894, we find Mr. Gallinger, senator from New Hampshire, declaring: "I feel bound to say that the Catholic Church in this country has received, during the last eight years, in appropri-

ations from Congress for the education of Indians, $2,366,416, while fifteen other denominations have received $1,400,000, or a little more than one-half the amount received by that one great religious organization. In view of this fact, church and state in this country ought to be divorced and forever kept apart."

Now the A. P. A. participated, and threw all its strength with the previously-existing movement to do away with the contract system of Indian schools. And it is in this behalf that we find it active in the debates in Congress especially after the House elected in November, 1894, had entered upon its work in the session which opened December, 1895.

The A. P. A. desired that the appropriations to contract Indian schools should cease at once. The nature of the issue, as it was joined in Congress during the discussion in April and May, 1896, is made apparent by the action of the Senate. The Indian appropriation bill, as it came from the House, appropriated $1,135,000—increased by the Senate to $1,335,000—for support of day and industrial schools for In-

dian children. But this appropriation was accompanied by a provision absolutely prohibiting future payment for the education of Indian children in sectarian schools. Senator Cockrell (Dem.) moved an amendment, adopted by the Senate, to substitute for that provision a declaration that it is "the settled policy of the government to make no appropriation whatever for the education of Indian children, in any sectarian school just as soon as it is possible for provision to be made for their education otherwise."

This was, substantially, the final disposition of the matter for that year. It was evident, however, that the policy of Congress, in this respect, was fixed not by A. P. A. demands, but rather by concurrence of the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Under the administration of President McKinley, Indian Commissioner Jones continued the policy of his predecessor in office. The result is evident in the diminishing appropriations to the Catholic Indian schools. In 1892, the amount appropriated was $394,756; in 1893, $375,843; in 1894, $389,745; in

1895, $359,215; in 1896, $308,471; in 1897, it fell to $198,228; in 1898, $156,754, and in 1899, $116,872.

In the meantime, the other denominations which, in 1892, had received a total of $216,814, had ceased to receive any appropriations.

In February and March, 1896, there was a fight against certain appropriations to charitable institutions included in the appropriation bill for the District of Columbia. The opposition to certain grants to Catholic institutions was led by Congressman E. J. Hainer of Nebraska; but eventually the appropriations were substantially made as heretofore.

The A. P. A. also made an ineffective fight against the placing of a statue of Father Marquette in the old hall of the House of Representatives. The tender of this statue came from Wisconsin in the following letter of Governor Upham:

"Executive Chamber, Madison, Wis., March 19, 1896.—Hon. Adlai Stevenson, Vice-President United States and President Senate, Washington—Sir: It gives me pleasure to inform, through you, the honorable body over which you

preside, that the state of Wisconsin, in response to the invitation extended to the states of the union, under Section 1814 of the Revised Statues of the United States, and in accordance with the resolution passed at the first session of Congress in 1893, has placed in the old hall of the House of Representatives, at the capitol of the United States, a marble statue of Pere Marquette.

"This statue was made in pursuance of the act of the Legislature of this state, at its biennial session, and is the work of an Italian sculptor, Mr. G. Trentanove, of Florence, Italy. I have the honor, in behalf of the state of Wisconsin, of presenting this statue to the Congress of the United States.

"I am, sir, very respectfully yours,

"W. H. UPHAM,

"Governor of Wisconsin."

The statue was set up in Statuary hall at the Capitol, February, 1896.

The Senate thereupon adopted, without dissent, Senator Palmer's motion, "that the statue be accepted to remain in the national statuary hall, and that a copy of these resolutions, signed by the presiding officer of the Senate and

House of Representatives, be forwarded to his excellency, the governor of the state of Wisconsin.''

But this resolution, on going to the House, was pigeon-holed in the library committee, and did not emerge during the life of that Congress. In Wisconsin, a bill providing for the return of the statue, was presented in the Legislature by A. P. A. request, but it was killed by an overwhelming vote. Finally on January 30, 1904, the House unanimously adopted a resolution introduced by Congressman Otjen of Milwaukee, accepting the statue, and the Senate unanimously concurred in this resolution Feb. 1, 1904.

A. P. A. founded by Henry F. Bowers at Clinton, Iowa. 1887.

W. H. Traynor. Supreme President. Rapid growth in. 1893.

Rev.d Washington Gladden 1894

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